WHIG ANTI-SUBSCRIPTION COUNCIL TICKET.

To the Whig Voters of the City of Philadelphia:

FELLOW CITIZENS,—

At a Meeting, on the 30th of September last, of WHIGS opposed to an increase of the City debt for the purpose of a subscription to the Central Rail-road, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Address upon the subject, and to nominate a ticket for Select and Common Councils to be supported at the approaching election. The Address has been already placed in your hands, and we invite you to give it an attentive perusal before voting for Members of Councils. The ticket we now enclose to you, with an explanation of the principle upon which it has been framed.

Of course it is known to the whole community, that a portion of the Councils now in office, opposed the scheme of borrowing two millions and a half of dollars for the use of the Central Rail-road, and that a portion of the Whig citizens agreed with them in their opinion of the inexpediency of that measure. With this knowledge, the Whig Conferees, appointed by the Whig party as a part of the organization of party union, to nominate candidates upon grounds of general party principles and personal fitness, saw proper to make such changes in the existing Council ticket as to render it no longer an Independent Whig ticket, but a ticket favourable to a subscription to the Rail-road. The proof that the Conferees *intended* to make, not a Whig ticket, but a *subscription* ticket, is this: They expelled from the list of the present Common Council, the names of five persons who had voted against a subscription to the Rail-road, and who were unexceptionable as Whigs, as men of character and as men of business; and they displaced no man who was favourable to a subscription: They filled the five vacancies with the names of three persons known to be thorough-going friends of a subscription, one person supposed to be in favour of it, and one opponent of it, whose personal influence rendered unavailing the effort to exclude him. In the Select Council they filled the vacancy made by the resignation of an opponent of subscription, with the name of a person who has signalized himself as the busiest leader, if not the originator, of the scheme of a subscription by the City. The proof that the Conference ticket, as it now stands, *is* a subscription ticket, is this: The vote in the present Common Council, on the question of subscription, was a tie vote; the Conference have made a change of three votes certainly; which gives a majority of six on a division in favour of subscription. It is true, that the Conference did not, as we now see, go quite far enough for those ardent friends of the Rail-road who demand nothing less than that the City shall at once and unconditionally assume the whole burden of constructing the Rail-road, without any regard to the question of whether it has a right to subscribe or not: Nevertheless, unquestionably the Conference ticket was designed to be, and it is, to an extent fatal to the safety of the City interests, a SUBSCRIPTION ticket. As such, we deny that it is obligatory on the party.

By departing from the established, and only proper principle of nomination, and discriminating between candidates, not in regard to political opinions or personal qualification, but in reference to their views upon a particular question of local concern, the Whig Conferees took from their ticket the character of a political nomination. As men of honour, acting in good faith, under the responsibility of duties assumed, and pledges given, they must be understood as having considered that, in their nomination of a Council ticket, they were proceeding, not as delegates of the whole Whig party, but as representatives of a single and partial interest. By so proceeding, they have set free the allegiance of all persons as Whigs. We recognise the implied obligation of professed members of the Whig party to give their support to the regular party nominations; but to consider the Conference as having designed to make a party nomination for Councils, would be to charge upon them a fraudulent execution of the trust committed to them. Their intention, palpably and undeniably, was to form a ticket favourable to a subscription by the City to the Rail-road; and to say that they intended to make that ticket a Whig nomination, is to declare them guilty of abusing the power placed in their hands, by endeavouring, without authority from any, and against the known opposition of some, to pledge the whole Whig party, as a party, to the support of a particular measure upon which their opinions are divided.

If a Conference, by making nominations in reference to particular questions which are not political in their nature, can practically exercise a power of determining the policy, directing the course, and foreclosing the opinions on all subjects, of the great political party which they are appointed to represent, there is established within the Whig party a tyranny even less endurable than that tyranny over the country which the Whig party was organized to resist. As men who have always been considered Whigs, and have always been Whigs, we claim the right to say that the Conference nomination for Councils is not a Whig nomination, and to declare it not to be binding upon Whigs.

From the list of the present Common Councilmen (as we have stated,) the Conference struck the names of five persons, for no reason but because they acted prominently, and voted, against a subscription. In the ticket which we now send to you, we have substituted the names of four persons taken from the Democratic ticket, men of integrity and respectability, known to be opposed to subscription. We have also introduced the names of four persons from the Native American ticket, men conservative in principles and opinions. In the Select Council, the Conference had placed, in the room of Mr. Rockhill, who was opposed to subscription, and declined a re-election, the name of Job R. Tyson, Esq. much known as an advocate of subscription, but never actively known as a Whig, in all the history of the party, before the present time. We have introduced the names of Samuel H. Perkins and Evans Rogers, in whom we place confidence as citizens of probity and discretion. The Conference ticket is, in its design and effective character, a SUBSCRIPTION ticket, though composed (with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Tyson,) of acknowledged Whigs. The ticket which we now send to you, is practically and beyond all fear, a safe WHIG ticket, consisting of persons opposed to an increase of the City debt, of whom the small fraction of one-fifth of the whole, in one Council, and of one-sixth in the other, are members of the Democratic party. The Conference nomination has been deviated from no further than was necessary to counteract the departure of the Conference itself, from the principle of independence on local questions, upon which the party nomination ought to have been made. As no intention exists to proscribe any man for his opinions, the names of several who voted for a subscription, but are men of worth and reputation, are left upon the ticket which we now recommend to the Whigs.

There is a consideration, worthy of being particularly attended to, by those who, as connected with the organization of the Whig party, and as friends of its constant supremacy in the Councils of the City, may be disinclined to depart from the Conference nomination, even in the moderate and safe degree that is here proposed. However popular, now, a subscription to the Rail-road may be, there can be no doubt at all that a Subscription TAX to pay for it, will be exceedingly unpopular. The payment of that tax will be resisted through every process and form of law by those who deem the subscription unlawful; an organized opposition to the Councils which levy the tax will naturally establish itself, independently of party, and permanently; and with the odium inseparable from a tax so burdensome, laid for objects so irregular and unjustifiable, will inevitably result in putting the Democratic party in entire and continued possession of the Councils. That political party, upon which the responsibility becomes fixed, of an increase of the City debt for the construction of the Central Rail-road, may count upon its exclusion from the Councils of the City for the twenty years that follow. He is the best friend of the Whig supremacy in the City of Philadelphia, who votes against the Subscription ticket of the Whig Conference.

Another consideration urges the enclosed ticket upon the support of members of the Whig party. Although the Conference ticket is framed to conciliate the votes and promote the views of the friends of subscription, the extreme advocates of the Rail-road have become dissatisfied with the moderation of that ticket, because they do not feel certain that it contains a majority prepared to assume for the City, immediately and at every hazard, and without regard to *legal* consequences, the entire expense of the whole Railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburg. Accordingly, they have announced a "Rail-road ticket." The present measure on the part of anti-subscription Whigs, is, therefore, strictly a defensive movement. Since the announcement of the Rail-road ticket, there can be no reasonable hope of the election of the Conference ticket. Practically, therefore, a support of the present ticket is not an opposition to the Conference ticket, but a reliance only to the new mixed ticket of persons in favour of an increase of the City debt.

In conclusion, we briefly state to you precisely what is implied in the proposition, that the Councils shall subscribe to the Central Rail-road. It is now ascertained and settled, with the certainty of actual and full experiment, that private subscription to the Rail-road will not amount to one million of dollars. The books of the Commissioners were kept open for several weeks; and the whole force of the City press, which was given up by the friends of the Rail-road, and of the agency of committees, who were sent throughout the City and County to importune and supplicate contributions from every one whom they could approach, was brought to bear in favour of the subscription: yet, after every exertion and every expedient has been exhausted, the subscriptions amounts, even nominally, to less than one million of dollars, and in actual value to probably much less. It is, therefore, demonstrated and certain, that, with this inconsiderable exception, the City, if it engages in aid of the enterprise at all, will be obliged to construct the whole Rail-road at its own expense; for a subscription of two millions and a half, alone, would be so much money thrown away. The report of the official State Engineer ascertains the lowest cost of the construction to be TEN MILLIONS of dollars: and the estimates of the several engineers consulted by the majority of the Select Committee of Councils, who were desirous of having the subject seen in the most favourable light, does not vary materially from that report; and to this must be added a million of dollars for machinery and cars. Allowing, then, one million for private subscriptions, *the City is called upon to assume a debt of* TEN MILLIONS of dollars, IN ADDITION to its present debt of about three millions. This will augment her taxation to just FIVE times its present amount. On a lot valued at ten thousand dollars, an ADDITIONAL tax of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHT DOLLARS per annum will be levied, according to the system of finance now pursued by the City, which will be equivalent to a PERPETUAL MORTGAGE of **$2133** upon every such lot, in ADDITION to all the taxes now levied. When this new burden is imposed, the whole amount annually levied on property within the City by taxation, for all purposes, will be **$2.60** per cent. of the value. The productive value of real estate within the City limits (estimating the average nett rent at five per cent.) will be diminished more than one-half. The owner of real estate will receive less than two and a half per cent. on his investment; and improved property, for purposes of mortgage, will be a security for the interest to less than half its renting value.

This is the scheme which residents within the Districts, and some men in this community for selfish ends, seem determined to impose upon the City of Philadelphia. It is this scheme with which the Whig Conferees have tampered. Do the citizens choose stupidly to submit to such an outrageous injury? Will Whigs be so infatuated to a form of conservatism, as to abandon all the substance of safety? Will they be devoted to those who have not been true to them, and depreciate their property and their children's property for ever, for the sake of following an unfaithful guidance which has betrayed the interests of the City and the independence of the party? It is not seen that any course remains for the holders of property to protect themselves from a destructive scheme of wrong and folly, but to unite in voting the enclosed ticket.

For an exposition of the reasons upon which a subscription by the City to the Central Rail-road is deemed in every way highly injurious to the interests of residents within the City, we refer you particularly to the Address which has already been sent to you.

By order of the Committee.